PREFACE

The Sanpoil and Nespelem, like other Indians of the north central Plateau, never became parties to any treaty with the United States. They were virtually ignored by the government and have been accorded little attention by others. They remained in their old habitats and lived their old life, despite encroachments by whites, until 1872. At that time a reservation was set aside for them and they were gradually concentrated upon it. The original bounds of the reservation were the Columbia river on the south and the east, the international boundary on the north and the Okanogan river on the west. Subsequently the northern half of this area was subtracted. The remaining natives still occupy the southern half.

The present study was begun in the summer of 1928; the expenses of that trip were defrayed by myself. Several subsequent visits were made, the last during the summer of 1930. All of these were under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington.

A number of myths and folk tales were obtained in conjunction with the ethnographic material. They are being published independently in the Journal of American Folk-Lore. Material also was gathered relating to a native messianic movement called the Kolaskin Cult. This data likewise has not been included here but is being prepared as a separate paper which will probably appear as a journal article.

In late 1930 there appeared *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus*, in which Franz Boas compiled and edited the material gathered by James A. Teit many years earlier (1904, 1908, 1909). Teit treats the Sanpoil rather more summarily than most of the other groups he visited, yet he has a considerable amount of data of specifically Sanpoil origin. His work was not available in time for me to use it in the field. I have made but few item references to Teit's treatment for complete cross-referencing would have necessitated an objectionable number of footnotes. Moreover, in seeking information regarding these peoples both sources should always be consulted. Our information is at variance in several instances.

I wish here to express my gratitude to Dr. Erna Gunther for her help and kindness. I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Melville Jacobs for initial encouragement and continued stimulation. My further thanks are extended to Dr. Leslie Spier, to my wife and to many friends for assistance and suggestions. Mr. George Neville Jones and Martha Reekie Flahaut exerted painstaking efforts in identifying botanical specimens. Mr. Albert L. Seeman kindly placed at my disposal original meteorologic data.

The phonetic system here used is that recommended in the report of a committee of the American Anthropological Association entitled *Phonetic Transcription of American Indian Languages* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 66, No. 6, 1916), with the single exception that the Greek symbol gamma (γ) is

INTRODUCTION

The term Sanpoil is a French corruption of the native name (snpui·ˀlux^{w}) of the people who lived at the confluence of the Sanpoil and Columbia rivers. Other early renderings were Sans Poil, San Poil and Sanpuell. Nespelem, likewise, was derived from a native name (snspi·ˀlsm), that of the people at the mouth of the Nespelem river. Sanpoil has been interpreted as a descriptive name, indicating either that the people were relatively hairless or that they were poor and had no furs to sell to the traders.[1] Any such assumption is definitely in error.

Thus originally the names Sanpoil and Nespelem were applicable only to two definite settlements among the many autonomous groups occupying that portion of the Columbia river. But through subsequent usage by government agents and white traders the names of these two major groups came to be applied to the surrounding peoples as well. The terms, however, were not used consistently or in mutually exclusive senses. Sometimes Sanpoil was meant to include the Nespelem; at other times it was not. The natives themselves have never adopted these designations. A man's nativity is still indicated by the old village group name, consisting of the village name plus a personifying prefix and suffix.

There is, however, a certain justification for grouping together certain villages under a common name for the sake of description. Although politically autonomous, all of the villages from the Nespelem river to Hunters were culturally and dialectically identical. Moreover they formed a definite social unit. They felt far closer ties between one another than between themselves and the people below (snaqaie'tk^{w}) or the ones above (Colville). Also, the snaqaie'tk^{w} groups affiliated closely with each other to the exclusion of the up-river villages, and the Colville probably had true tribal organization—at least they had a group name (sxoie'lp^{w}).

The two names (Nespelem, Sanpoil) have come into such general use that it was thought best to use both terms in the title of this ethnography. Also there was a certain natural division into these two units. Geographically they were separated by the Sanpoil mountains, a range of hills running north and south along what is now the Ferry county-Okanogan county boundary line. For social purposes the division existed also. Important ceremonies were usually observed at both centers. Inhabitants of villages from the Grand Coulee westward ordinarily attended those at Nespelem while the villagers east of that point more commonly went to Sanpoil.

But to avoid awkwardness in presentation I have used throughout the single term Sanpoil to mean both Sanpoil and Nespelem except where otherwise stated.

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL AFFILIATIONS

The Sanpoil spoke a dialect of Interior Salish and were surrounded by other Salish speaking peoples. All of the neighboring dialects were intelligible to them except Columbia and Spokane. However both of these, especially the former, were known by a great many of the Sanpoil, for intermixture was common.

[1] See for example Symons, *Upper Columbia River*, pages 31-32.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

131 The dialects of the region fall into four subgroups within which only minor
197 variations occur. These divisions were recognized by the Sanpoil themselves and each group was designated by a separate name. It is interesting that the native term for Salish (nsi'lɑ̣tcɪn) was applied only to their own group of dialects. Individual dialects were designated by the name of the people plus the suffix tcɪn, "speaking." The native linguistic classification follows:

Sanpoil Nespelem Okanogan sɪnəq̓aie'tkᵘ Lakes sɪnəkâ'lt Colville	nsi'lɑ̣tcɪn	Kittitas Yakima Palus Umatilla Cayuse Walula	naiya'kutcɪn
Columbia Chelan Methow Wenatchi stske'tɪmixᵘ	nɪ'x̣wa'mux'tcɪn	Chewelah Kalispel Spokane	npoke'nixtcɪn

105 Of the Plateau peoples the Sanpoil were one of the groups least affected by
177 direct influences from other areas. By the time that extraneous cultural innovations filtered through the surrounding peoples they became considerably "leveled down" and the Sanpoil, as a result, possessed no typically foreign culture traits. The horse culture complex is a case in point. From the Plains came this new manner of living and it was taken over almost bodily by the Nez Perce and the Yakima, and to a marked degree by the Columbia. The old life of these peoples is now difficult, indeed, to extricate and disentangle from the made-over culture resulting from this intrusion. We shall probably never have a satisfactory picture of it. But by the time the Sanpoil had been reached by the reverberations of this new culture of their southern neighbors its power had been spent and the sharp edges already removed. The Sanpoil were never greatly affected by the horse culture except in a few superficial aspects of material life. Thus I feel that it can reasonably be said that the Sanpoil possessed one of the most truly Plateau of Plateau cultures. The whole flavor of their life reflected their interior isolation and independence.[2]

101 Culturally most like the Sanpoil were the Colville to the north and the
171 sɪnəq̓aie'tkᵘ on the west. The Columbia linked naturally with the Wenatchi, and the Spokane with the people further east. The Lakes, north of the Colville, were more akin to their Canadian neighbors than to their southern ones.

Though the Sanpoil travelled relatively little, especially long distances, the number of peoples with whom they were acquainted was fairly large. The names by which they were designated follow:

[2]Cf., page 26.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

TERRITORY

GEOGRAPHY

133 137 361 The Sanpoil lived in a region consisting mainly of treeless deserts and subject to great ranges in temperature (Plate 4). In the extreme northern and eastern portions of their territory the hills were clad with evergreens but these areas were used only for hunting. All permanent settlements were on the Columbia river since there the climate was milder, driftwood was available for fuel, water was always at hand in any quantity and travel was made easy by canoe.

131 133 All of eastern Washington and portions of adjoining states and British Columbia are drained by the Columbia and its tributaries. This great river has cut a huge gorge hundreds of feet deep through the lava plateau over which it flows. Where it is not confined within a canyon the banks are in the form of gravel terraces or benches, one above the other, which extend for considerable distances. It was on the lowermost series of these benches that most of the native villages were located. The plateau is a bed of basalt, 4000 feet deep in some places, formed by a succession of lava flows. This originally level plain has been considerably broken up by gorges cut by ancient streams and by the Columbia river at times when it was temporarily blocked from its main channel. These dry canyons are known as coulees. The greatest of these, the Grand Coulee, was cut by the river when the Okanogan glacier filled the upper Columbia valley at the "Big Bend." Minor uplifts have further modified the topography since the lava was laid down.

Sanpoil territory on the north extended into the physiographic province known as the Okanogan highlands. This is a northwestern projection of the Rocky mountains with elevations of 5000 and 6000 feet. The gently rounded hills are composed chiefly of granite and are fairly well wooded.[3]

132 The mean monthly temperature varies from 20 degrees F. in December to 66 degrees F. in July in the northern part of the territory (Republic). In the region south of the river the variation is from 24 to 74 degrees F., the extremes being reached in the same months (Wilbur).[4] Maximum summer temperatures of 115 degrees F. and minimum winter temperatures of minus 25 degrees F. have been recorded. Slightly less extreme figures are quite common.

The average annual precipitation over the whole of the former habitat is about 13 inches. Most of this falls in the winter months in the form of snow except in the extreme north (Republic) where the monthly distribution is very irregular and spread throughout the year.[4] Snow remains on the ground throughout the winter months.

Humidity is low; the annual mean percentage is probably not over 65.

Storm centers are normally north of the area, causing prevailing winds to blow up the Columbia river. In the late winter and early spring these warm, dry winds are called chinooks. They cause a rapid melting of snows.

137 Two plant life zones, the Upper Sonoran and the Arid Transition, are represented in this area. The former is typical of the Columbia plains or lava plateau

[3] Saunders, *The Physical Geography of Washington*, pages 311-12, 314.
[4] Information furnished by Mr. Albert L. Seeman of the Department of Geography, University of Washington.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

while the latter characterizes the lower reaches of the Okanogan highlands. The most conspicuous plant of the Upper Sonoran of this region is the sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata*). Other prominent plants include rabbit brush (*Chrysothamnus nauseosus*), antelope brush (*Purshia tridentata*) and dragon sagewort (*Artemisia Dracunculus*). The Arid Transition zone is divided into two subareas. The lower is characterized by bunchgrass (*Agropyron spicatum*) and often called the bunchgrass prairies. The upper division is typified by the presence of yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*) forests. The bunchgrass prairies appear a short distance north of the Columbia river and shade into the pine forests just north of Nespelem.[5]

HABITAT

The accompanying map (Figure 1) indicates the exact territory occupied by the Sanpoil and the names of adjoining peoples.

In northeastern Washington, about 85 miles south of the Canadian boundary, the Columbia river abruptly changes its course from south to westward. This has come to be known as the Big Bend of the Columbia, and the adjacent territory to the south of the river is called locally the Big Bend country. This general area, together with that included within the bend, was originally occupied by the Sanpoil. The confluence of the Sanpoil and the Columbia rivers marked the center of population but the geographical center was somewhat north of this point, near Lake Annum (Buffalo Lake). The southern boundary of the area was approximately a straight line running east and west at about 47° 40′ latitude. The eastern boundary intersected this line about 15 miles west of the town of Davenport. From that point it continued in a northeasterly direction to the bend of the river, or just west of the village called Peach. The boundary line then followed the river northward to Hunters, where it veered westward and connected with the Kettle river range of mountains; this range formed the remaining portion of the eastern territorial limit. A line drawn directly eastward from Republic to the Kettle river mountains would represent the northern boundary with fair accuracy. On the west the boundary line proceeded from Republic to Kartaro, then southward across the river toward Coulee City.

All villages were located along the Columbia river; therefore the boundary points on the river were much more clearly defined than in other parts of the territory. The former were determined by the actual extent of the villages, the latter merely by the greatest extent of territory covered during hunting and root gathering expeditions. The area thus recognized as properly belonging to the Sanpoil comprised about 1600 square miles.[6] Approximately 85 miles of the course of the Columbia were included and both sides of the river were occupied except for the short distance between Miles and Hunters.

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[5] Piper, *Flora of the State of Washington*, pages 36, 47-48.

[6] It is somewhat misleading, however, to speak of territory *belonging* to the Sanpoil and to designate boundaries as definite lines. The nature of boundaries and concepts concerning the territorial ownership are discussed at length in the section on political organisation, pages 109.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

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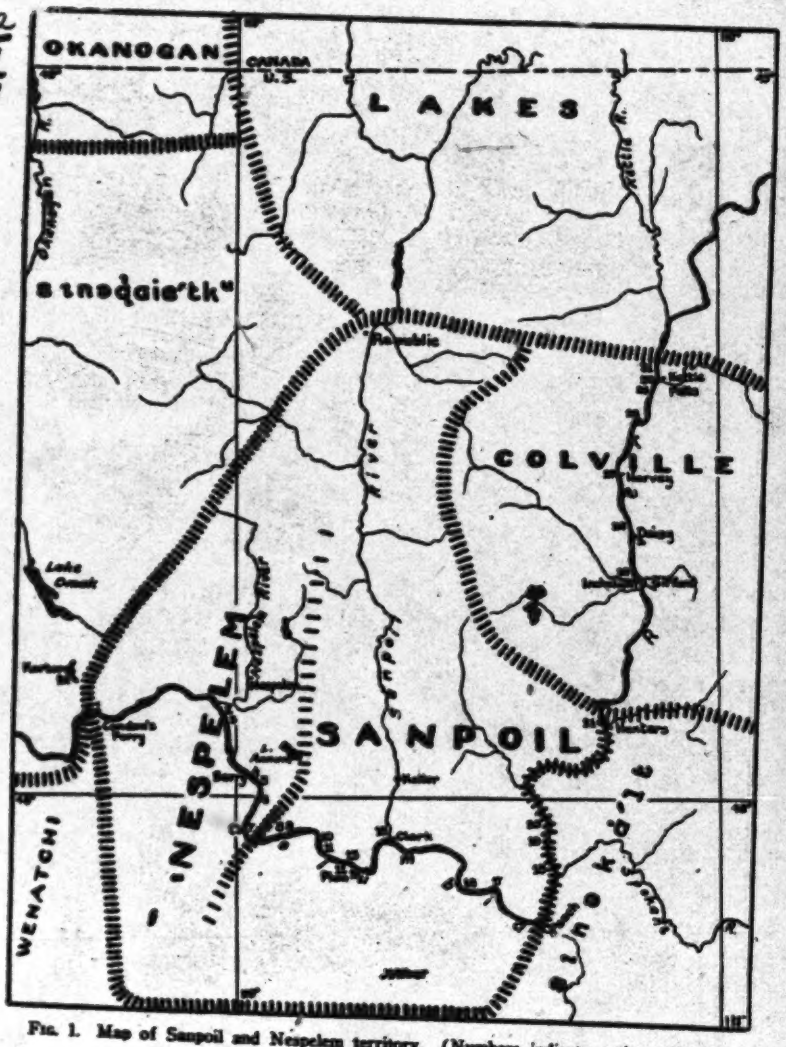

FIG. 1. Map of Sanpoil and Nespelem territory. (Numbers indicate native villages. See list in text).

101 linguistic branch may again be analyzed into six known functional units: the Okanagon proper, the Sinkaietk, the Lakes (Sinajextee), the Colville, the Nespelem and the Sanpoil. I shall refer to these units, as determined by native sentiment, as tribes.

101 With this terminology in mind and in order to prevent future confusion of geo-
619 graphical groupings, it seems advisable to call the Indians south of Tonasket, Washington, Sinkaietk, an anglicized form of their own name. They declare complete independence, deny that there was ever an historical affiliation of a political nature with the Okanagon proper in the past, and designate themselves by a different name, sinEqáĺe'tkū, "people of the water that does not freeze."

101 Comparison of the culture traits of the Okanagon of British Columbia and the so-call-
171 ed Okanagon of the United States strengthens the necessity for recognizing them as two separate tribes. There is as much dissimilarity between Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon culture as there is between Sinkaietk and Sanpoil or Sinkaietk and Colville. Even within the Sinkaietk, there are local variations in culture from band to band.

101 The misnomenclature was effected apparently with the coming of the whites. All Indians living in the environs of the Okanogan River were called Okanagon Indians. Prior to this period the river had two names by the Indians, it was called nūqaĺé'tkū ("water that does not freeze") from its mouth to Tonasket, and wEkanaqa'in from there to its headwaters. Nowhere in the early literature have I found a reference to the nūqaĺé'tkū river. The history of the adoption of the name of Okanogan for the whole river, I do not know.

TERRITORY AND POPULATION

• 131 The Sinkaietk, whose number has probably never much exceeded three hundred since the fur traders came into this country, formerly occupied the entire territory from about six miles east of Condon's Ferry on the Columbia River, down that river to the mouth of the Okanogan River and up the Okanogan River to Tonasket.

161 "The population of this section was
164 probably at its highest about the year 1780. ... About 1782-3 the whole region was swept by the great smallpox epidemic which had

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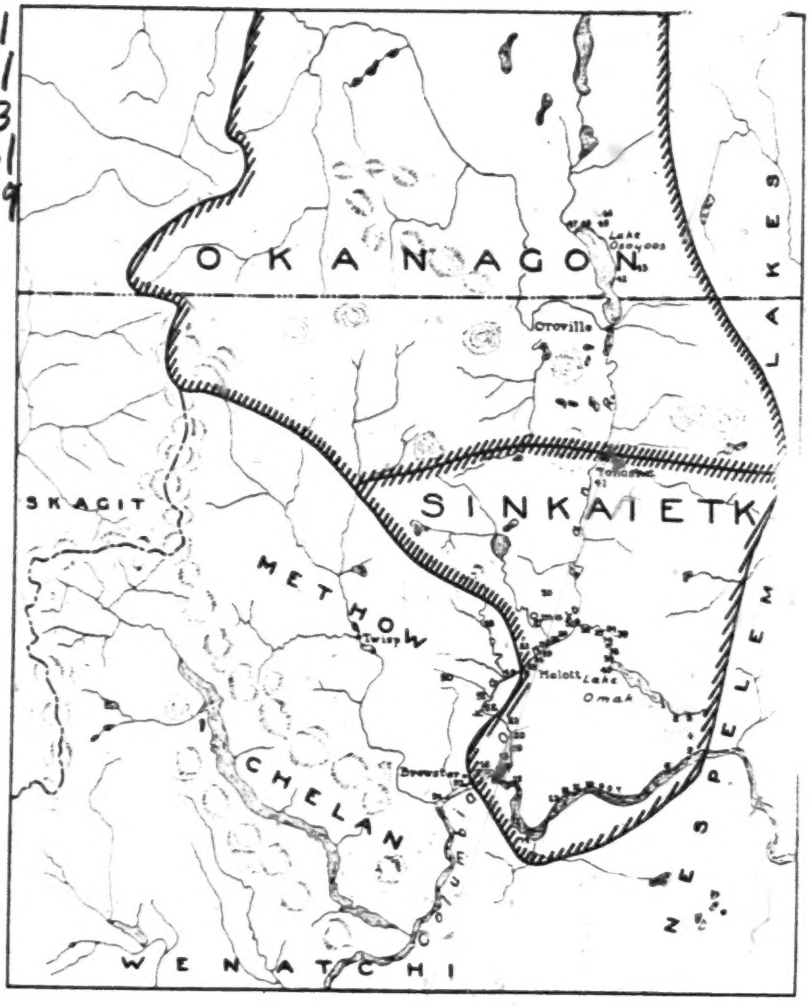

Fig. 36. Map of Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon territory.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

Shoshoni or Snake	.s.naske'n.tkox (said to mean "snake people")
Klamath	Ła'mał
Wishram	Wī'sxam
Wasco	Wasqo'pɛm
Chinook	Tsɛnū'k
All Coast Indians	Sukɛtī'kɛmuχ, Sukotī'kɛmuχ ("people of opposite or other side," with reference to the Cascades)
Lower Fraser tribe	.sLɛmsiū'ɛx
Another Coast tribe	Qo'ɛtsɛn (possibly the Cowichan)

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DIALECTS

The Middle Columbia language, on the whole, seems to be more closely related to the Okanagon or central group than to other Salish groups; but it has some peculiarities of its own, and in some points rather resembles the Cœur d'Alène, and even the Flathead group. In others, again, it is closer to the Thompson and Shuswap of the north. The pronunciation of a number of words resembles that of the Thompson rather than that of the Okanagon. The Wenatchi, Chelan, and Methow, occupying the country west of Columbia River, differ slightly in their speech and in the use of a few words from one another and from those who live east of the river, viz., the Moses-Columbia. Probably the difference is not much greater than that existing between the Upper and Lower Thompson, which is very slight. The Methow are said to talk more nearly like the Okanagon than other Columbia Salish, and use some words and phrases which probably have been adopted from the latter. It is likely that some other slightly diverging dialects were spoken by Columbia bands living farther south, who are now extinct.

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HABITAT AND BOUNDARIES[14]

1. The Columbia Salish (Tskowăxtsɛnuχ or .nkeĕus) occupied the Columbia River valley on both sides, from probably some little distance below the mouth of the Wenatchee River (say, about Cabinet Rapids), south to a little below Priest's Rapids and in former days down to near The Dalles, and all the adjoining plateau east of the river, from the confines of the Sanpoil, south along the borders of the Spokane, to the Palous country near the Snake River, and possibly in former days to the boundaries of the Nez Percé.

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2. The Wenatchi (or .s.npeskwau'zuχ) occupied the Columbia valley immediately above the Columbia Salish, north to about half way between the mouths of the Methow and Okanagon Rivers, and embracing all the country on the west side of the Columbia to the Cascades and a little beyond in some places, from the boundaries of the Thompson tribe in the north, to the Yakima in the south and probably in early times to the Columbia bands occupying the country east of The Dalles adjoining the Upper Chinook.

[14] See map in *The International Journal of American Linguistics*, vol. 4 and 41st Annual Report Bureau of American Ethnology.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

DIVISIONS AND BANDS

I did not try to get a list of former Columbia Salish and Wenatchi bands, but no doubt these tribes were composed of a number of loosely connected bands (possibly grouped into divisions) with headquarters in different localities. Some of the Columbia divisions or bands were as follows:

1. The .nkeē'us or .s.nkeiē'usoχ of Umatilla valley.
2. The Stia'kETEMUχ or Tiă'kETUχ[15] at the mouth and the lower part of Yakima River, and in the Columbia valley some distance above and below.
3. The Stata'kETUχ,[16] with headquarters around White Bluffs on the Columbia.
4. The .tskowă'xtsENUχ or .skowa'xtsENEX[17] of Priest's Rapids and neighborhood. The band now called Moses-Columbia represents these people, and in fact consists of the remnants of all the Columbia who inhabited the Columbia Valley and east side of Columbia River. Most of them are by origin Priest's Rapids people. They are named after Moses,[18] their late celebrated chief. After the introduction of the horse, this band became famous as horsemen, warriors, and buffalo-hunters.

[15] This term may possibly have a wider meaning, and may include all the bands along the Columbia, below Priest's Rapids. The Sanpoil have a name Nai'akutchzn or .niă'qETCZN, which appears to have been applied to all the Indians living along Columbia River from the Wenatchi to near The Dalles. The term is said to have been applied to Salish or Columbia speaking bands, but in later days probably included Yakima bands who superseded them. This name seems to be the same as that of the tribe called Akai-chie by Hunt, who found them inhabiting the country around the mouth of the Umatilla River, January, 1812. He describes them as scantily clad, using mantles of skins of animals, and sometimes pairs of sleeves of wolf skins. He further states, "Their lodges were shaped like a tent, and very tight and warm, being covered with mats of rushes; beside which they had excavations on the ground, lined with mats, and occupied by the women, who were even more slightly clad than the men. These people subsisted chiefly by fishing: having canoes of a rude construction, being merely the trunks of pine trees split, and hollowed out by fire. Their lodges were well stored with dried salmon, and they had great quantities of fresh salmon-trout of an excellent flavor, taken at the mouth of the Umatilla." These people differed very much from the Sciatogas and Tus-che-pas whom Hunt had met just previously on the upper Umatilla (probably the Cayuse and allied tribes). These Akai-chie were possibly a part of the Columbia tribe still inhabiting the lower Umatilla and neighboring parts of the Columbia River at that date (see Irving's *Astoria*, ch. XXXVII; also *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 32). The suffix -tcxn in .nia'kETCZN means, no doubt, shore (banks of a river or lake or a valley). The root part of the word is evidently iă'k, which seems to be the same as occurs in iăkEma and stia'kEt, etc.

[16] Possibly the same name as No. 2.

[17] This term possibly has a wider meaning (see p. 90).

[18] Chief Moses was the best-known and most celebrated chief in his time in eastern Washington. He was over six feet tall, very straight, and weighed in later life, when he had become rather stout, about three hundred pounds. He possessed great influence over all the neighboring tribes and was noted for his wisdom and power of oratory. He was also a great linguist, speaking all the Salish dialects, several of the Shahaptian, and some of the Plains languages. His father, Skate'lko, was also a remarkable chief. He was killed in a battle with the Blackfoot. Moses died an old man, about 1905-06, and was buried at Nespilem, on the Colville Reservation, close to where Chief Joseph was buried in 1904. Mr. McCrossan, former agent at Nespilem, who knew both chiefs well, was of the opinion that Chief Moses was really the greater chief of the two, at least in most respects. He also wielded most power among the Indians, and his word received most attention.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

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The Wenatchi (or .s.npeskwau'zux) were also divided into a number of bands. As far as I know these were:

1. The Sme'thau, or Methow, on Methow River and surrounding country.
2. The Tselē'n, .stcɛlē'nɛx, or Chelan, on Chelan Lake and neighborhood.
3. The .s.npeskwau'zux, or Wenatchi proper, on Wenatchi River.

What was probably a fourth division or distinct band, or possibly a subdivision of No. 3, lived south of the Wenatchi Mountains, on the north Yakima, with headquarters around Ellensburg or possibly lower down. This division is said to have been large at one time, and commanded the Snoqualmie, Yakima, and all the principal passes through the Cascades, including those to the Cowlitz country. Some of these people are said to have lived still farther south at one time, on other branches of the upper Yakima and the Klickitat River; but they intermarried so much with Yakima that they became absorbed by the latter. They may possibly have formed a division by themselves, and were probably the original inhabitants of the upper and central parts of the Yakima country. It is said that the remnants of some small bands of Salish (probably all .s.npeskwau'zux or Wenatchi) who were mixed with Yakima joined with the latter in the treaty of 1855; and their descendants are now on the Yakima Reserve, and speak the Yakima language.[19] A few families still live around Ellensburg; but it seems that nearly all the Wenatchi-speaking people south of the Wenatchi Mountains are now mixed to some extent with Yakima.[20]

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[19] See also Powell, who states, referring to Salish, "including a dozen small tribes upon the Yakima Reservation which have been consolidated with the Klickitat [Shahaptian] through intermarriage" (Powell, *Indian Linguistic Families*, Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of [American] Ethnology, 105).

[20] The *Handbook of American Indians* gives some bands of the Lisquows, with their old locations, as follows:

1. Camiltpaw—On east side of Columbia River.
2. Siapkat—On east side of Columbia River, near Bishop Rock and Milk Creek.
3. Squannaroo (Skwana'ne)—On Yakima River, opposite the entrance of Selah Creek. Found by Lewis and Clark in 1805, on Cataract (or Klickitat) River, north of the Big Narrows.
4. Skaddal (Ska'utal)—Found by Lewis and Clark in 1806 on Cataract (or Klickitat) River, 25 miles north of the Big Narrows. Later they seem to have been living about Boston Creek and Kahchass Lake.
5. Shanwappom (or Pcwa'nwapam)—Found by Lewis and Clark in 1805 on the head waters of Cataract (Klickitat) River and Tapteel (Yakima) River. Their name is said to refer to a "shoal" in Yakima River above Ellensburg. This is a Shahaptian name and the people speak now a dialect of the Yakima.
6. Shallatoo (or W'shā'natu)—Described by Lewis and Clark in 1805 as living on Cataract River. Name thought to be from that of a site on Yakima River above Ellensburg.

Bands 1 and 2, living on the east side of the Columbia River, may have been .s.nkeē'us or Columbia, and not Wenatchi. It is likely that remnants of these bands are now among the Moses-Columbia. Bands 3-6 were with little doubt some of the Wenatchi bands forming part of the division who lived south of the Wenatchi Mountains and occupied the central and upper Yakima country south to Klickitat River. In 1805-06 they seem to have still been in possession of the upper Klickitat River; the Klickitat, it appears, being at this date south, southwest, and southeast of them. At a later date the Klickitat controlled and overran all the river, the remnants of these people, after being decimated by disease, retiring to the mountains around the Naches and Kachess Lakes, where a few are said still to live. Some of them may have been absorbed by Klickitat and Yakima.

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

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In the Salish tribe of The Dalles[21] (.nkutéme'x*, Neketeme'ux) I include the Salish-speaking tribe said to have occupied formerly the Columbia valley near The Dalles.[22] This tribe was not reckoned by the Columbia as part of themselves. It was classed as a distinct tribe, and popularly considered to be related to the Thompson Indians, or at least to have spoken a language similar to theirs. According to tradition, a long time ago the tribe had a quarrel, and divided, part of them migrating north (following Columbia River, according to some). According to some stories, these emigrants again divided somewhere in the middle of the Columbia country, part of them crossing the Cascades to the Coast country, where they settled, and finally disappeared as a tribe. Those who remained near The Dalles dwindled away, and also finally disappeared as a tribe. It is thought that most of them were killed off by plagues or epidemics which seem to have visited the river about the end of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century, when the Columbia tribe was first decimated. Most Columbia and Sanpoil people believe, however, that a few individuals of them still survive, and may occasionally be met with in the Wasco country and also further north in the interior, and again west of the Cascades.[23] Some informants seem to believe that the Thompson Indians of British Columbia are descendants of the part of this tribe that went north. Others, again, think that the original home of all the Thompson was in the central part of the country; and that after the quarrel, one part went north and became the Thompson Indians, and the other part went south and became the tribe near The Dalles.[24] It is also reported by the Columbia that there remains a band, now numbering about

[21] This is evidently the same tribe as that mentioned by Ross (1855) as Necootimeigh, a tribe formerly living at The Dalles of the Columbia in Oregon (see *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 50).

[22] Opinions differ a great deal as to the exact location of the tribe, but all agree that they lived near or above The Dalles. I obtained the following locations from three or more informants: (1) around The Dalles or east of The Dalles; (2) in the Wishram country or near the Wishram; (3) in the Wishram or the Wasco country, or near one or both of these tribes; (4) on both sides of the Columbia, a little distance or some distance above The Dalles, but chiefly on the north side some little distance back from the river; (5) chiefly or entirely on the south side of the river, somewhere between the mouth of the Deschutes and The Dalles. Perhaps they had more than one settlement (it is thought two main settlements), and may have occupied a considerable extent of country along the river. Current tradition says that the tribe was originally in two camps about fifteen or twenty miles apart. Some think the remnants of the tribe remaining on the Columbia settled among The Dalles Indians and Wasco. One informant said that this tribe was the same as the Wishram, or formerly lived with the Wishram, but that their name was the same as that of the Thompson Indians. Another informant stated that the place they once inhabited was called .sko'pa or qō'pa (Wasco ?), and later a few of them (probably a remnant) went to Na'pxwa (Lapwai ?) or Nā'pa. .sqa'pa means "sandy" in the Thompson language, and there is a place of that name in the Thompson tribe generally written Skuppa.

[23] Individuals of the tribes in ones, twos, and threes are reported as having been met in recent years on the Columbia or near The Dalles, in the Wasco country, at Lapwai, and at the Puyallup hop-fields. I tried to find some of them around The Dalles, Hood River and Pendleton (Umatilla Reservation) in 1908, but did not succeed.

[24] See traditions of this tribe and migrations collected from Nesqilem and Columbia; also compare Sapir *Wishram Texts* (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, 2, 204–205), where Wishram have a quarrel and separate, a part of them going to the Wenatchi country and at last beyond; and the Thompson tradition of Nkai'a people quarreling and separating, part of them going to the Wenatchi or Columbia country.

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twenty individuals, who speak the Thompson language or a dialect nearly the same (they also speak Columbia), who live somewhere in the country to the north, not far from Columbia River, and within twenty-five miles of a place called Prairo (? possibly Pateros). Some Thompson claim that the last-named people are probably descendants of a band of Indians from .nkai'a, near Lytton, who left their country as the result of a quarrel, and finally located near the Columbia about a hundred and fifty or more years ago and therefore are not connected with any Dalles tribe.[25]

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POPULATION

Owing to lack of information on the number of Columbia Salish and Wenatchi bands and their locations, the early dates at which the tribes were decimated by disease and were pushed out of their southern territory, and the absorption of portions of the tribes by the Yakima and others, it is difficult to collect sufficient data to give any fair estimate of their numbers when at their greatest strength. The Columbia and Wenatchi themselves, as well as the Sanpoil and others, agree that both tribes were one time very numerous. They claim that through disease and wars they are now mere remants of what was once the largest of tribes. In the early part of the last century several hundred Indians made their headquarters around Priest's Rapids alone, and during the salmon-fishing season this number was further augmented to a total of five hundred or more. There are said to have been many such populous place along the river. The chief cause of decrease, at least, in later times, appears to have been small-pox and other epidemics, which have visited them all (or in part, at least) four times, carrying off, it is said, thousands. The first epidemic occurred about 1800, and caused very many deaths.[26] The second one came about 1825, and likewise swept away great numbers. It is also said to have been small-pox. A third one came a little later, with like fatal results. This may have been the pestilence or fever reported to have been brought to the Columbia by a ship, and which spread among the Columbia River tribes, killing many thousands, and depopulating whole villages, about 1830-32. A fourth great epidemic reached the tribe over sixty years ago. This may have been the measles, which killed so many Spokane. It is said to have been introduced by immigrants around 1847. The Indians believe they have also suffered through epidemics before and since those dates, but to a much less extent, and not in every place or band. Considering traditional accounts, and the extent and nature of the country of these tribes in comparison with populations of other tribes in similar country and along salmon-streams, it may be safe to conjecture that the total population of the Columbia group at one time was at

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[25] See Thompson tradition of the migration of Nkai'a people.
[26] Probably the small-pox, which, according to the Flathead, came from the Crow Indians.

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least about ten thousand.[26a] It is also hard to give the exact population of these 161
tribes at the present day, as a number of the Methow, Chelan, and Wenatchi 131
are not on reservations. It appears that all or part of these people were included in the Yakima treaty of 1855; but most of them refused to recognize the treaty as binding on them, because it was made without their consent, and thus very few of them went on the Yakima Reservation. Nominally I believe they are now under the jurisdiction of the Colville agency; but it seems that very few, if any, of the people from the west side of the Columbia, are on the Colville Reservation. In the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Indian affairs for 1905*, 279 Columbia and 93 Wenatchi are included in the Colville agency. The Columbia are the Moses-Columbia band, who have allotments in the south half of the Colville Reservation; but it is not clear whether the Wenatchi enumerated are on the reserve or are those of the tribe who have homesteads and allotments near their old homes. As I have not visited the Methow, Chelan, and Wenatchi countries, I cannot state anything regarding the number of Indians remaining there. A few families of Indians still make their headquarters around Ellensburg.

MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES

I obtained no traditions of real migrations of the Columbia Salish, except 167
that of the NekEtEmē'uy tribe, already referred to, but, as said before, they 131
were not recognized as Columbia. What information I gathered, however, 101
shows that considerable movements and migrations of southern tribes took place, resulting in a gradual pushing-back and absorbing of Columbia and Wenatchi bands in the south, and the occupation of all the southern parts of their tribal territories by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan tribes. These movements may be indicated as follows:

1. An invasion by Shahaptian people, later called Yakima, who appear to have passed through the region of The Dalles, or further east, and gone into the mountains north of Columbia River, whence they gradually moved into the central Yakima valley, and spread up and down that stream.

2. At a later date, a movement of Yakima, or closely related people (either a fraction of the settled Yakima or a part of the former horde), along the north side of the Columbia to near the mouth of the Snake, where they began to occupy both sides of the river north to the White Bluffs, while part of them seem to have proceeded east, occupying the lower Snake and the Palouse, these people later becoming known as Palous.[27]

3. About the same time as the latter movement, or a little later, a second invasion of the same kind of people took place from the country south of the Columbia, following the same route as the first. Most of them also

[26a] See, however, the estimates made by James Mooney, *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 80 [1928] No. 7, p. 16). His estimate of 2,200 seems to me too low.—Franz Boas.

[27] Some Columbia refer to the migration as having come down the Yakima from the middle Yakima to the mouth.

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passed into the hills on the north side of the river, but some of them settled in the Columbia valley for some distance east of The Dalles. As the country north of them was already fully occupied by Yakima from the Cascades to the Palouse, these emigrants remained in the intermediate country, ranging between the White Salmon River on the west and Horse Heaven in the east, with headquarters at one time around Glenwood and the central Klickitat River. These people became known as Klickitat, and were for a time important intermediate traders between the tribes of the coast and the interior. They soon began to range farther west, part of them occupying the country west of the Cascades on the Lewis River, and around Mount St. Helens. After the depopulation of the Cowlitz and other Coast and Columbia River tribes by an epidemic, about 1829, large numbers of them moved into the Cowlitz valley. It seems that the Cowlitz were the principal people with whom they traded in the west, and they were most friendly with them. About this time, or probably earlier, bands of Klickitat, possibly exploring for a new country and trading, and other bands of mixed Klickitat and Cowlitz bent on raiding and war, had begun to make excursions north, following the west side of the Cascades back of the more populous areas of the Coast tribes, going as far as the Mount Baker region, where they came in contact with the Thompson Indians. They soon gave up the northern expeditions; and part of them began to go south, crossing the Columbia into the Willamette valley, going sometimes as far as the Umpqua and Rogue Rivers. Those who remained on the Klickitat River and neighborhood now began to occupy parts of the north bank of the Columbia (Chinook territory) in the salmon-fishing season and in the winter, during the rest of the year living back in the mountains; while those who remained west of the Cascades, in the Lewis and Cowlitz districts, made their headquarters around Silverdale [Silver Lake?], and became known as Tai'tnapam or Wanukt. When the main body of the tribe went on the Yakima Reservation (after 1858), some of the Klickitat living on the north side of the Columbia below The Dalles, and some of the Tai'tnapam, remained in the places where they had setteled, and some of them are still to be found there.

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[According to Mr. Melville Jacobs, who studied the Shahaptian Taitnapam near Morton, Washington, in 1926 and 1927, there is no tradition among this tribe of any kind of migration. So far as their memory goes they have been associated with the upper Cowlitz. In the popular use of the term the "upper Cowlitz," (Wanukt) are Shahaptian in language; although the old Cowlitz are undoubtedly Salish. The dialects of the most southern coast Salish of this region bear internal evidences that the Cowlitz were at one time neighbors of the Wenatchi. All the coast dialects beginning with the so called upper Chehalis, and from there northward, use the sounds *tc* in place of the central Salish *k*, and *c* instead of the central Salish *ɕ* or *ʂ*. The Cowlitz belong to what might be called the *k* group of Salish dialects in conformity with the adjoining Wenatchi. Without this contiguity the occurrence of the *k* sounds

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in this isolated group which, in other respects is almost identical with upper Chehalis, could hardly be understood. I presume that the lack of a migration legend indicates that the people are descendants of the early Salish inhabitants who have changed their language.—F. Boas.] 167 197 131

4. It seems that on the heels of the Klickitat, if not part of the same migration, came some of the same kind of people as those who occupied the Columbia on both sides of the river, from The Dalles east to John Day River. Some of them actually settled among the Wishram and Wasco, or occupied places between villages of those tribes. These people were not so numerous as the Yakima and Klickitat, and became known as Tenino or Tɛnai'nu. By some people they were reckoned as part of the Klickitat, and by others as part of the Tyighpam (tai'xpam). These migrations seem to have taken place by way of Deschutes River, from the Tyighpam country or perhaps from farther south.

5. At an early date (whether preceding all or some of these movements, viz., 1 to 4, is uncertain, but probably contemporaneous with some of them) another movement of tribes took place farther east. The Cayuse pushed down the Umatilla to the Columbia, but do not appear to have crossed the latter stream. Later most of them left the Umatilla, and made headquarters on the upper part of the Wallawalla. The Wallawalla were then on the lower Wallawalla and neighboring parts of the south side of the Columbia, between the mouth of the Snake and the Umatilla, but whether they were there previous to the occupation of the Umatilla by the Cayuse, or moved into the region from the south about the same time as the Cayuse moved down the Umatilla, is uncertain. It is also uncertain whether the Wallawalla extended to or occupied any part of the Umatilla before the Cayuse came.

6. A movement of Molala out of the Deschutes and Warm Springs country into the mountains to the west, said to have been caused by attacks of the Snake, and the occupation of this part of their country by Tyighpam, who seem to have come from farther south.

7. A movement of Tyighpam or Tenino, or both, who lived on the south side of the Columbia, east of The Dalles, and most of those who lived in the country back of there as far south as Tygh, Warm Springs, and Shaniko, into the country to the west, along the boundaries of the upper Chinook, across Hood River, and extending as far as Oregon City. This movement took place at the time the Snake came to Columbia River, probably in the early part of the last century.

8. A movement of Snake from the southeast, seemingly in considerable strength, and continuing over a considerable number of years, pressure by them probably causing wholly or in part all the above-mentioned movement of tribes. 167

The northwesterly movement of the Snake seems to have about reached its height in the early years of the last century, probably 1800-30, when large war-parties of them appeared repeatedly on the Columbia River around The Dalles and east of there, attacking the Wasco and other inhabitants.[25] At this 131 721

[25] The Snake are also said to have about this time appeared in the Willamette valley.

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time, it is said, for fear of the Snake, hardly any people lived on the south side of the Columbia between The Dalles and the Umatilla, or possibly nearly to the Wallawalla. It seems likely that these movements occurred at different times throughout the eighteenth century, with the exception of the seventh, which certainly seems to have been later. Perhaps the Yakima migration may have been the earliest, and may have occurred about two hundred years ago. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and Tyigh migrations seem to have followed one another very closely, and all may have been parts of an exodus extending over a period of years. The pressure of the Snake seems to have resulted, first, in a displacement of Shahaptian by them; second, in a displacement of Waiilatpuan tribes either by Shahaptian or Snake, or both; third, in a displacement of Salish tribes by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan, but chiefly the former.

The Cayuse are said to have lived long ago around the heads of the streams flowing northerly into the Columbia, and east into the Snake, from the region of Deschutes on the west, to the confines of the Nez Percé on the east; some say as far as the head of the Wallawalla and the Tucannon, but this may possibly have been at a later date. They had their headquarters, it is said, on the upper Grande Ronde. The Molala are said to have been in the country west and northwest of them, on the middle Deschutes and Warm Springs, and west in the mountains. It thus seems that the Molala and Cayuse met, or almost met, somewhere on the upper Deschutes; and if this was the case, Waiilatpuan tribes probably extended in a line east and west bordering on the Salish who occupied the Columbia east of The Dalles and the Umatilla. It is not clear whether any of the Molala lived at this time west of the mountains, but it is likely that they did. Some claim that the boundary between them and the Kalapuya was approximately a line almost due south from Oregon City. This may have been an old boundary, or it may have been a later one. Many claim that the Molala were first driven into the mountains and then west of the mountains. Most of them had to cross the Kalapuya country, and for a time took refuge on the head of the Siletz. If the Salish and Waiilatpuan tribes occupied the countries claimed for them in early times, it seems almost certain that the Shahaptian tribes who moved north must have been originally in the country farther south, probably with the Cascade Mountains and the Klamath on their west, the Waiilatpuan on their north, probably the Nez Percé on their northeast, and the Snake on their other boundaries. Whether pressure of the Shahaptian or the Snake, or other causes, resulted in the withdrawal of the Cayuse east and north, is not clear; but it appears that the Shahaptian moving north passed through a kind of gap between the Molala and Cayuse on the Deschutes River. Whether they made this gap, or whether it existed before, is uncertain. It appears that the Molala continued in possession of at least part of their country between the Deschutes and the Cascade Mountains, until, by the disappearance of the Shahaptian, they were left open to attacks by the Snake and were driven into the mountains.

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The Tyighpam, who it seems settled in part of the Molala country, may have been the last part of the wave of Shahaptian migration northwards.

I found informants among the Wishram, Wasco, and the Shahaptian tribes rather vague as to ancient boundaries along the Columbia River. From none of them could I obtain any definite statements on the subject going back farther than about three generations, or about the time of the last wars with the Snake or Paiute.[29] Some of them, however, acknowledged that the Klickitat, or part of the Klickitat, and Tenino, formerly lived south of Columbia River; but owing to attacks of the Snake, and probably other causes, they moved to and across Columbia River among the Wasco and Wishram, and some of them passed far beyond to the west and in other directions. About the same time the Nez Percé, Klamath and Modoc were having wars with the Snake, while the Molala were driven west into the mountains; and the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Wallawalla retired into the Wallawalla district, where they lived together. Later some of them returned to the Umatilla. A large piece of country was left vacant to the south, and for a number of years the south side of the Columbia between Wallawalla and The Dalles was practically devoid of inhabitants.[30]

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The traditions of the Salish appear to be more concise, and to go back farther than those of the neighboring Shahaptian tribes. Moses-Columbia informants assert positively that their tribe extended much farther south and west at one time (seemingly in the middle of the eighteenth century), and that they occupied the valley of the Columbia down to near The Dalles, where they came in contact with Wishram, Wasco, and a Salish tribe said to have spoken a language similar to Thompson, and which they called by the same name as the Thompson River tribe of the north.[31]

North of the river, a little distance back, the Columbia Salish claim to have extended west of The Dalles to the mountains, probably the spurs of the Cascades, in Skamania County, south of Mount Adams. One band, seemingly that called Stata'kɛtux, inhabited the Columbia River around White Bluffs. Another band immediately below occupied the valley for some distance above and below the mouth of the Yakima, and all the lower part of the Yakima River. Either this band or the people living on the Columbia River below Priest's Rapids, as a whole, were called Tiă'kɛtux or Stia'kɛtɛmux. Below the latter were other bands with scattering settlements along the river, in some cases a considerable distance apart.[32] The Columbia Salish claim, further, that their tribe formerly occupied practically all of the Umatilla valley, which was the headquarters of the .s.nkeiĕ'us or Columbia proper, from which divi-

[29] Some of the Wasco call the Snake Indians "Paiute," and say that missionaries told them always to call the Snake by this name, as "Snake" was a term of an insulting character.

[30] From information collected from Wasco and Klickitat.

[31] If this tribe occupied the country just east and south of The Dalles and around the mouth of the Deschutes, as some think, it would be right in the way of the Shahaptian migration, and may have suffered accordingly.

[32] Said to have been on both sides, but most settlements and people in the lower part were on the north side.

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...on or band the tribe as a whole received its name. They say that this name is the old name of the Umatilla country. The Cayuse tribe came in from the south, and displaced the Columbia in the occupation of this valley; and because they lived there, the name also became applied to them.[33] Later the Cayuse, or at least the main portion of them, moved northeast into the Wallawalla district, and afterwards the people since called Umatilla occupied the Umatilla valley. They were a mixture of Wallawalla and Cayuse, and it is likely that they also had Columbia and perhaps Nez Percé elements. During the last century these three tribes (the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Wallawalla) lived together, and came to be regarded as a group by themselves. They intermarried so much that they became practically one people, and their territory was looked upon as one.

The other group of people which occupied parts of the Columbia country was that now known under the tribal names of Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous. They all spoke the same language, and were looked upon as parts of one tribe, or branches of the Yakima. The Columbia Salish claim that the Yakima pushed down the Yakima valley and occupied part of the Columbia River from White Bluffs down to below the mouth of the Yakima, which was formerly inhabited by Columbia. This extension seems to have penetrated east along the north side of the Snake, to the Palouse River, the mouth of which seems to have become the headquarters of the Palous tribe, who were looked upon as an offshoot of the Yakima. They were considered a small and poor tribe by the Cœur d'Alêne and some others, and are said to have depended chiefly on fish and roots;[34] and the same is said of the people at the mouth of the Snake. The Columbia (Moses-Columbia) are not so explicit regarding the movements of the Yakima as of some other invading tribes. Possibly the Yakima first crossed country, and settled in the present Yakima country south of Naches (Na'xtcɛs), in what seems to have been territory of the Wenatchi. As the latter were generally looked upon as a distinct tribe, this may account for lack of knowledge among the Moses-Columbia of any Yakima invasion except from the west down the Yakima River to the Columbia River. The Cowlitz on the west side of the Cascades look upon the Yakima and Klickitat as originally one people, and say they were unknown to them long ago.[35] The Wasco also consider them to be one and the same people, and call them by the same name, "foreigners;" while the Salish tribes consider the Klickitat, and Indians of Columbia River speaking Klickitat, and the Tenino, as simply branches of the Yakima who have separated at different times. It seems that the Klickitat and Tenino were welcomed by the Wasco (at least, in later times) as allies against their common enemy, the Snake.

The exact ancient boundaries between the Spokane and Columbia are rather vague. The Cœur d'Alêne do not seem to know of any time when Columbia boundaries touched theirs. Some of them say that at one time

[33] Compare names for Columbia and Cayuse, pp. 89-92.

[34] This refers more particularly to a band at the mouth of the Palouse, who may have been different from the ordinary Palous Indians, and possibly a Salish remnant.

[35] According to information regarding Klickitat, etc., collected from Coast tribes.

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parties of Columbia came close to their borders on the southwest, and occasionally parties of the two tribes met; that at this time parties of Spokane seldom came south of Cheney or Sprague, but in later days, perhaps after the advent of the horse, they went as far as Ritzville, and sometimes Colfax. Spokane are also said to have camped on Cow Creek, and their parties often went right to the mouth. Colfax was considered to be in Palous country, at least, in later days, but was to some extent within both Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé spheres of influence. It seems not improbable that at one time the narrow strip of Palous country above the mouth of the Palouse was neutral ground, the contiguous tribes of Columbia, Spokane, Cœur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé each making use to some extent of the part lying nearest to them. This neutral strip, and previous decimation of the Columbia population by disease, would make the expansion of the Yakima or Palous in this direction very easy.

I collected the following information regarding the former territory of the Columbia Salish from the late Mr. Thomas McCrossan.[88] During my conversations with him on the Indians, he told me he had resided nine years at Nespilem. During that time he had been in intimate association with the Moses-Columbia, and was particularly well acquainted with their chief, Moses, his brother Kweé'tca, or Kwoié'tsa (Blue-Robe), and other old men of the tribe. He said that some of the old men had often related to him a great deal concerning the early history of their tribe, which included a statement that their tribe at one time occupied all the Columbia River down to The Dalles. He had become interested in their statements, and had made inquiry from time to time among them regarding their claims. He said they all agreed, and reiterated very emphatically, that they formerly had possession of the country to and beyond The Dalles. He had not tried to get any approximate date for this occupation (if any had been mentioned, he had forgotten it), but he had received the impression that the occupation spoken of was not very long ago. The sum of the information he obtained was as follows. At one time the Columbia tribe occupied all of the Columbia River valley south of their recent boundaries to the upper or eastern borders of the tribes at The Dalles. Their boundary there was very near The Dalles; and the lowest band of Columbia Salish lived not very far east of this point, probably only a few miles up the river. The Indian name of the place was given, but was not remembered by Mr. McCrossan. Large numbers of Columbia from farther up came annually at a certain season to trade at The Dalles with the tribes there, and some of them appear to have come in canoes. Columbia territory extended west, close at the back of The Dalles tribes, on the north or right bank of the river, to some mountains and rivers, probably Klickitat and White Salmon Rivers.

[88] I met the late Mr. McCrossan first on the Colville Reservation in 1908, when he was farmer or sub-agent at Nespilem under Capt. Webster. I am obliged to him for helping me locate the best Indian informants among the Sanpoil and Columbia and for other courtesies. The last time I met him was in 1910, when he was in charge of the Quinault Indians in western Washington. During my stay on the reserve, I lived with him, and was again indebted to him and Mrs. McCrossan for many kindnesses.

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The Indian names were given for the places or rivers. This old territory of the Columbia,[87] he said, embraced all the country east of the Cascades occupied by Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous. He understood that this included all the Yakima River country, the Palouse River, and the Snake below the Palouse. All the Umatilla country was also claimed by the Columbia, some of whom considered it their oldest headquarters. He did not remember that they said anything of the Wallawalla, but inferred that that region was held by them also.[88] They claimed the Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous were intruders, who had pushed them out or taken possession of their country, and settled down in it. Probably the Wallawalla and Cayuse should be included in the same category, but he did not remember their speaking specially of them. It seems that this invasion took place without any great or prolonged war. Some of the Columbia occasionally fought with the intruders, but others were friendly, and intermarried with them. The Columbia Salish are vague, or do not remember much regarding how the invasion took place, but evidently remember best the fact that certain territory once belonging to them is now occupied by others.

The original home of the Klickitat and Yakima, he learned, was south of the Columbia River, a considerable distance back. Not many years after the arrival of these people among the Columbia Salish, some kind of a plague spread up Columbia River, killing off many of the tribe living between The Dalles and Priest's Rapids. The strangers, most of whom, it seems, lived chiefly in the mountains, or at least a little back from the main river, were not decimated by it. Some remnants of the Columbia moved farther north, among other bands of the tribe; while others who remained became lost or absorbed by the intruding tribes. After this the Columbia valley from The Dalles east was inhabited by people speaking the Yakima language.

So much from McCrossan.

I obtained the following information from Michel Revais[89] regarding

[87] Probably includes Wenatchi.

[88] Revais had an impression that the early inhabitants of the Wallawalla region were Cayuse, who also lived on the Tucannon and Umatilla.

[89] Michel Revais was official interpreter at Jocko when I was there in 1909. He had then been in the position thirty-five years. His grandfather was François Revais, a French Canadian, who left home when twelve years of age, and settled in St. Louis. When twenty-five years old, he came north, and later entered the employment of the Hudson Bay Company as a clerk. He married a woman half Pend d'Oreille and half Flathead (of part Tunā'xe descent, belonging to the family of the head chief of the Pend d'Oreilles). His son was Antoine Revais (Michel's father), who married a Kalispel. Michel was thus half Kalispel, one-quarter French, one-eighth Pend d'Oreille (with a dash of Tunā'xe), and one-eighth Flathead. His father was an employee of the Company most of his life, and was attached for a time to Fort Colville. He moved to Oregon in 1833. Michel, if I remember aright, was born about 1829 or 1830, or at least before his father moved there, and was raised among the employees of the Company near or at Fort Vancouver, and had some schooling there. When very young, he began to work for the Company, and continued to do so, for the most part, until he settled on the reservation at Jocko. For many years he worked with the Colville Brigade, also made a number of trips with the California Brigade, and I think once with the Shoshoni Brigade. Before going to Jocko, he had made his headquarters chiefly at Colville. In 1857, possibly 1856, he made a trip to Thompson River with some former employees of the Company in search of gold. In 1862 (?) he again went north to the Thompson and Shuswap, going as far as La Fontaine, and returning by way of Kamloops and Okanagon. I found Revais well

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Columbia Salish territory and movements of tribes. It was generally understood or believed, by the early traders and people of the Hudson Bay Company, that Moses' people (the Columbia) had occupied most of the Columbia valley above The Dalles in early times, before the first whites came; and Moses' people themselves asserted this. It was also believed that the Yakima country, or the greater part of it, had been in possession of the same people. Either Moses' people, or the Wenatchi, it is said, were still living in the western part of the Yakima country, near the mountains west of the Yakima, and about the head of Klickitat River, as late perhaps as 1830. Other smaller isolated bands of th se people were reported to be living in other parts of the Yakima country, among or near the Yakima, at a much later date.

The Yakima-speaking people were considered to be intruders from south of the Columbia, probably driven north by the Snake. Some of them, such as the Yakima, had obtained a settled home; while others, such as the Klickitat, had no proper home. They had really no country of their own, and travelled to and fro on the north side of the Columbia in the countries of the Tenino, Wishram, Yakima and Cowlitz. They were said to have come from the Tenino or Tyighpam country originally. The Tenino of Columbia River were Tyighpam who had settled there, and they were called Tyighpam, and sometimes Klickitat. The name Tenino was not used long ago; at least, not as a tribal name. Tyighpam also lived in the country south, about two days' journey of a pack-train, back of the Wasco or Upper Chinook, from east of The Dalles to a considerable distance west of Hood River and the Cascades. Some of them were also on the Deschutes, White, and Tygh Rivers; but much of this country belonged to Molala long ago.

It was said that the latter once occupied all the Warm Springs and Deschutes country where the Tyighpam now live, but that they were driven out of there probably by Snake. Their country seems to have been on both sides of the mountains, for a number of them lived in the country east of the Willamette, south of French Prairie, and east and south of Oregon City. The boundary between them and the Kalapuya was considered to be on a line almost due south (perhaps a little east of south) of Oregon City. It was claimed that they extended along the mountains at one time, south to the Klamath. The Kalapuya and Yā'mhĭl occupied the country west of the Molala, from Willamette Falls south, including the Yamhill River, and practically all the upper Willamette to beyond the Kalapuya Mountains on the

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informed on most matters concerning the various interior Salish tribes and their neighbors. He had been in the country of almost every tribe in the region between the Cascades and Rockies, from British Columbia down into California, and in some places west and east of these ranges. He spoke French, English, Chinook jargon, sign language, Flathead, Okanagon, and Columbia, and could talk and understand a little of the Thompson, Shuswap, some of the Shahaptian dialects, and others. He had a very retentive memory concerning almost all he had seen and heard, names of persons, places, and dates. He was a veritable storehouse of knowledge concerning persons, and incidents in the lives of fur-traders, and could name and describe all the officers and employees of the Company at and near Fort Vancouver when he was a boy, tell whom they married and all about their children. He would have been a valuable aid to any one writing a history of the old fur-trading days. He was totally blind in 1909, and had been for a number of years.

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Columbia
Wenatchi

Umpqua. Immediately south of them were the 'A'mpɛkwa, on the southern parts of the upper Umpqua River. 167

The Cayuse were said to have come from the upper Grande Ronde originally, or at least they had their headquarters there. About 1850 their headquarters were at Pa'sxa, on a creek at the foot of the mountains south of Wallawalla. At this time they had much intermarried with Wallawalla and Umatilla, and, although much reduced in numbers, were very rich in horses. Some Cayuse-speaking people once lived on the Umatilla and also on the Tucannon. Revais had heard that another kind of people (he thought probably the same as or related to Moses' people) lived somewhere near the mouth of the Palouse; but he had not recollection of having heard Moses' people claim the Umatilla or the Wallawalla valleys. Neither did he know of any Salish tribe called Nekɛtɛmē'ux having once been in The Dalles region, unless they were part of the Moses' people, who, as already stated, claimed to have extended a long way down the Columbia. The Wasco sometimes laid claim to the country as far east as John Day River, but they never occupied it. The islands in Columbia River between John Day River and the Wallawalla were much used by Wallawalla and Umatilla as fishing-places and for drying salmon about 1849. The traders considered the Wishram and Wasco and all the Upper Chinook to have come originally from the lower river or the coast, as their language was similar to that of the Indians below, and also their dress, manners, and style of living, were similar. 131 181

On the same subject I obtained the following from Peter Kalama.[40] According to tradition current on the Warm Springs Reservation, the Molala formerly occupied all the country where the Warm Springs Reserve is now, and the remains of many of their old lodge-sites may still be seen on the western half of the reserve. These people were driven out of that country by the Snake, who drove them right into the mountains, and later drove them over to the other side, until finally they took refuge on the head of the Siletz River. Molala are said to have been on the upper Hood River also at one time. The Snake also attacked and drove out part of the Kalapuya from the upper Willamette. In early times they also had wars with the Klamath, Modoc, Nez Percé, probably the Wallawalla, and the Wasco and Tyighpam. [72]

The last-named, who appear to have lived at one time somewhere east or southeast of the Molala, were driven north to and within the confines of the Wasco. Some of them settled right among the Wasco, on and near Columbia River, while others spread westerly back of the Upper Chinook as far as Oregon City. The Tyighpam, or Tai'xpam, are the Indians generally called Warm Springs or Simnasho at the present day. The latter name is that of a

[40] Peter Kalama was my interpreter among some of the Coast Salish tribes in 1910. He was then living on the Nisqually reservation. His father was a Kanaka, and his mother Nisqually. He was partly raised and educated at the Government Indian schools in Oregon, and for several years was in the Government service on the Warm Springs Reservation. I found him very intelligent, and generally well informed concerning the Coast Salish of Washington, the tribes of the lower Columbia, and the neighboring tribes of Oregon. He had travelled considerably among various tribes, being a leading man in the Shaker movement. 159 115

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place, and means hawthorn-bushes. The place-name Taix or Tai'x is derived from a legend or myth. A younger brother ascended to the sky at this place, and as he ascended he called, "tai'x̣, tai'x̣!" No Indians ever made their home in the Tygh valley, as it is a bad country, full of canyons. The language of the Tyighpam is almost like that of the Klickitat; and the two tribes are said to have been originally one people who lived together, or adjoining each other. Probably the Klickitat moved north before the Tyighpam. In the Snake wars the Snake sometimes attacked in very large parties, and killed many Molala, Tyighpam, and Wasco. Latterly the last two tribes combined, and defeated the Snake in several engagements, killing numbers of them.

As I did not visit any of the Wenatchi bands, I have no data from them relative to movement of tribes. The Wenatchi man I saw told me that he believed people of his tribe inhabited the Yakima country formerly; at least, parts of it, and maybe all. He believed that, generally speaking, they lived in the whole upper Yakima country next to the mountains. In that region now, places have both Yakima and Wenatchi names. The Wenatchi call a place by a name of their own, and the Yakima call the same place by a name in their language. None of my informants from any of the tribes told of any movements of the Nez Percé who seem to have been in their historic habitat for a long time.

The only other tradition of migrations I obtained was that of a considerable number of interior people who crossed the Cascades and settled in the Snuqualmi country, on a prairie about a mile back on the north side from Snoqualmie Falls.[458] Here the remains of a great number of lodge-sites, most of them underground lodges, could be seen until very lately, about a hundred in all. The name of this place is Soxqo'ko (people gathered together). After intermarrying more or less with the Snuqualmi, and becoming to some extent incorporated with them, part (or the remnants) of these people—consisting of seven families, including the chief—moved down and settled among the Snohomish about five or six generations ago. One old man and two or three descendants are said to have returned across the mountains and settled among the Wenatchi. The names of the seven head men, or heads of families, are preserved by the Snohomish, and show these emigrants to have been interior Salish, the same and similar names being current among men of the Thompson and Wenatchi at the present day. These people were probably Wenatchi, who migrated for some reason or other,—possibly some of those who had been displaced by the coming of the Yakima and Klickitat. Possibly they may have been part of the lost Nekɛtemē'ux̣, as some of the latter are said to have crossed the Cascades to the coast. The names of the seven chief men or heads of families were as given below. I give some Thompson forms of the names, with their meanings, for comparison.

[458] Mr. Jacobs informs me that on the upper Nisqually a small band of Shahaptians is found, the Mica'l, who speak a dialect closely akin to Pcwa'nwapam, showing that a small movement of Pcwa'nwapam must have occurred in recent years to the west of the Cascades.—F. Boas.

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INTERIOR SALISH NAMES	THOMPSON FORMS
1. Tɛxaidek or Tɛxai'nɛk (chief)	Toxei'.nɛk (hanging-down belly or hanging or suspended bow), generally considered a woman's name among the Thompson.
2. Tsɛlɛxkai'nɛm	Tszlĕ.xkai'nɛm (standing around the head or top).
3. Cɛlɛkqai'n	Sɛlekqai'n (spinning around or revolving head).
4. Yo'sɛmkɛn	Zu'sɛmkɛn[41] (tied head or top) or Tso'sɛmkɛn (rattling head).
5. Yā'xolɛk	Zā'xɛlɛk or Za'xiāuk (long or tall tree), also nickname for a tall man, like saying "long-legs."
6. Siā'nɛmkɛn (returned east when an old man, and settled at Wenatchee)	.sia'nɛmkɛn or Zanɛmqai'n (travelling in a circle head).
7. Mexkɛni'tsa (the youngest)	Mɛx.kainī'tsa[42] (hair hanging loose over top of robe, or head of robe hanging loose).
8. Wɛtskɛla'tce (son of No. 6, returned to east of mountains)	(I do not know of any Thompson equivalent.)

INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE

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The people of the Columbia group had for neighbors several tribes of the Coast Salish on the west, including probably, in early times, the Cowlitz. The Thompson and Okanagon were on the north and northeast, and possibly also formerly the Stuwi'x tribe (Athapascan); Sanpoil and Spokane on the east; and bands of Yakima and Palous on the south. As these are said to be comparative new-comers, who displaced the Columbia in the south, it seems that the early neighbors of the latter in this quarter were the Wishram, Wasco, and Chinookan bands, along the Columbia River below The Dalles; about that point, the Nekɛtemē'uɣ; and farther east, where the Columbia Salish held both sides of the valley, probably Waiilatpuan bands on the upper parts of all the southern rivers, east to the Wallawalla or possibly near the Snake.

The very early disposition of tribes around the lower Wallawalla, and from there to the Snake, is not clear, but it seems probable that the Cayuse

[41] Y and z interchange in different dialects.

[42] There is a man of this name among the Okanagon. Forms of Nos. 2-6 are used by living Thompson men. No. 8 is unfamiliar, but seems to be Salish. The suffixes -ɬmɛk, -qai'n, -kɛn, and -ɬtsa are very common in personal names of the interior Salish. tos, tsɛl, stl, tsos, are common root-parts of names.

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extended across the upper Wallawalla to the Tucannon. It is not clear where the Wallawalla were at this time. It would seem that they were below the Cayuse, but at an earlier time they may have been in some other quarter to the south, for it seems unlikely that the Columbia should hold all the Columbia valley down to near The Dalles, including the lower Snake and lower and middle Umatilla (all the Umatilla, according to some) without also holding the lower Wallawalla. If the Cayuse extended in a wedge to the Tucannon, then probably none of the old Columbia boundaries touched those of the Nez Percé except possibly a little corner on the Palouse.

Of the above neighbors of the Columbia, intercourse seems to have been chiefly with interior Salish tribes in late time. In earlier times there was also a good deal of intercourse with Coast Salish, and no doubt more or less with all neighbors. The Methow are said to have intermarried considerably with Okanagon, and they and the Chelan to a less extent with Sanpoil. Although there was a great deal of trade and intercourse with the Spokane, there does not appear to have been very much intermarriage with them. Intermarriage with Thompson was very slight. In early times there was probably a little intermarriage between Wenatchi and some of the Coast tribes, particularly the Snuqualmi. It seems that there was a great deal of intermarriage at one time between Wenatchi bands on the Yakima River and the Yakima. It is likely that part of the Wenatchi inhabitants of the Yakima were absorbed by the Yakima, while others moved away or were killed off by disease and perhaps in wars. The Yakima who lived on the Columbia around White Bluffs are said to have mixed with Columbia Salish, possibly the remnants of the Columbia who formerly lived below Priest's Rapids and White Bluffs. The Columbia say that in early times their people on the Umatilla intermarried with Cayuse or Umatilla. There appears to have been but little intermarriage with Palous, Wallawalla, and Nez Percé, none with Tenino, Tyighpam, and Upper Chinook, and, at least in later times, none with Klickitat.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

THE SALISHAN TRIBES OF THE WESTERN PLATEAUS

By James A. Teit

Edited by Franz Boas

THE COEUR D'ALÊNE[a]

I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

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Habitat and Boundaries.—The country occupied by the Coeur d'Alêne was almost entirely within what is now the State of Idaho. A small part extended into Washington. They held all the headwaters of Spokane River from a little above Spokane Falls to the sources, including Coeur d'Alêne Lake and all its tributaries. To the southeast their territory extended across the head of the Clearwater, a tributary of the Snake River. Their eastern boundaries were the Coeur d'Alêne and Bitter Root Mountains. Generally speaking, their country is mountainous and more or less heavily forested, with more rain and snowfall than the territories of the surrounding tribes. The western part, around De Smet, Hangman's Creek, Tekoa, Farmington, and toward Spokane Falls, is drier and comparatively flat, open, and well grassed. In the central part are many navigable waterways.

On three sides tribes of the Flathead group were neighbors of the Coeur d'Alêne—the Spokane to the west, the Kalispel to the north, and the Pend d'Oreilles to the east. On the south their neighbors were the Nez Percé and Palous; but, as the latter are considered comparatively new arrivals, in olden times probably they bordered only on the Nez Percé. It seems likely that there was a narrow strip of neutral country between the two tribes, used to some extent by both in times of peace. For many years the tribe has been on the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation in Idaho, which is located near the southeastern border of their former territory.

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a The native names in this section were revised with the help of natives by Dr. Gladys Reichard. A few words that could not be identified are marked with a question mark. Mr. Teit's remarks on the Coeur d'Alêne refer to the year 1904.

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Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

THE OKANAGON

I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

101 TRIBES OF THE GROUP.—The tribes of the Okanagon group are
131 (1) Okanagon, (2) Sanpoil, (3) Colville, (4) Lake.

TRIBAL NAMES.—The names "Okanagon," or "Okinagan," "Okanagon Lake," "Okanagon River," are derived from the Indian name of the tribe. The name "Sans Poil," given to the tribe by the fur traders, seems to be simply a French adaptation of their Indian name, and does not originate from any peculiarity of the tribe in being "without hair." They were also called Sanpoil and Sinpoee, corruptions of their own name. The Colville are named from the Colville River and Fort Colville, places in their territory; but formerly they were generally called "Chaudière" or "Les Chaudières" by the fur traders. They were also known by translations of this term; such as "Kettle Indians," "Pot Indians," "Bucket Indians," and "Cauldrons." The origin of the name is not clear; but evidently it has some connection with Kettle Falls and Kettle River, places in their territory. They were also sometimes called "Shuyelpee," which is a corruption of their own name. The Lake tribe were often called "Sinijixtee" and "Sinatcheggs," corruptions of their own name. The name "Lake" was applied to the tribe because of their habitat on the lakes to the north, viz, Arrow Lakes, Kootenai Lake, and Slocan Lake, in British Columbia.

The tribes call themselves as follows:

1. *Okanā'qēn*, or *Okanāqē'niɣ*, or *Ōkinā'qēn*.[1]
2. *Snpoī'l*, or *Snpoī'liɣ*, *Snpoai'lɛɣɛɣ*.
3. *Sxoiē'lpiɣ*, or *Sɣuiē'ylpiɣ*, *Sɣwei'lpɛɣ*.
4. *Snai'tcɛkst*, *Snrai'tcɛkstɛɣ*, *Snāi'.tcɛkstɛɣ*.

The suffix *-iɣ*, *-ɛɣ*, stands for "people" (equivalent to *-ic* of some tribes and dialects). "*Okanā'qēn*" is said to be derived from the name of a place on Okanagon River, somewhere near the Falls, so named because it was the "head" of the river; at least, in so far as the ascent of salmon was concerned, very few salmon being able to reach above this point. According to tradition this place represents the ancient headquarters of the tribe. Some Okanagon and Sanpoil informants stated that the name is that of a place at or near Okanagon

[1] Other forms of the name used by Sanpoil and Lake are *Ōkanāqai'n* and *.sōkānāqai'nɛɣ*.

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Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

Falls, where there was at one time an important salmon fishery, the place of their origin. On the other hand, the head chief of the Canadian Okanagon told me that the name is the former name of a place on the Okanagon River, near the mouth of the Similkameen, where at one time were located the headquarters of a large band of the tribe, most of whom in later times spread farther north. During a period of wars the people there constructed breastworks of stones, and with reference to this the place became known as *salilx*ᵘ and the old name dropped out of use.[2] According to the same informant, the old dividing line between the Okanagon and Sanpoil people was about Okanagon Falls. From there north the real Okanagon dialect was spoken. The original center from which the Okanagon people spread was the country between Okanagon Falls and the mouth of the Similkameen. The suffix *-qēn*, *-qain*, etc., means "head," probably with reference to some physical feature of the country.

Snpoī'l or *Snpoī'lix* is said to be the old name of a place on Sans Poil River or in its neighborhood, the original home of the Sanpoil tribe.

Sxoie'lp is said to be the name of a place near or a little below Kettle Falls, which was considered to be the original home of the tribe. According to some, the name means "hollowed out," with reference to rocks there.

Snai'tcɛkst is from *ai'tcɛkst*, the name of a fish, said to be the lake trout (*Salvelinus namaycush*?). The Lake people are said to have been named after this fish, on account of its importance, in contrast to the Colville people below them on the Columbia, who had salmon in abundance. Some salmon reached the Lake country, and the people caught a considerable number in some places; but they were fewer in number and inferior in quality to those in the Colville country. The Okanagon tribes call themselves collectively "*Nsi'-lixtcɛn*" or "*Nse'lixtcɛn*," which means "Salish-speaking "(from *Sa'lix*, *Se'lix*, or *Si'lix*, "Salish or Flathead tribes;" and *-tcin*, *-tcɛn*, "language").

NAMES GIVEN TO THE OKANAGON TRIBES BY OTHER TRIBES.—The names applied to the Okanagon tribes by other tribes and the symbols used in sign language to designate them are the following:

[2] See p. 204.

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Colville; Lakes

DIALECTS.—The differences in speech between the four tribes are very slight. The variation in pronunciation and vocabulary is sufficiently marked to identify the division to which a speaker belongs. The chief differences between Colville and Lake consists in the slower utterance of the latter.[8] 197

The Colville use the term *Saliṣtcī'n* for all the Salishan languages of the interior, including Coeur d' Alêne, Shuswap, and Thompson.

HABITAT AND BOUNDARIES.—In climate, natural features, flora, and fauna, the territories inhabited by the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville are very similar to those of the Upper Thompson and neighboring Shuswap bands. The climate is slightly moister (rainfall 25 to 37 centimeters in most places), the valleys are wider, and the surrounding country less mountainous. The territory of the Lake tribe has much more precipitation. It is heavily forested and very rough and mountainous, occupying the heart of the Selkirk Range. There are long stretches of lake and river waterways, smooth, and well adapted for fishing and canoeing. Large falls and rough water also occur in places. As may be expected, the flora and fauna differ considerably from the drier, less mountainous, and more open country inhabited by the other tribes. 13

The Okanagon tribes were surrounded by other tribes of the interior Salish, except on that part of the eastern confines of the Lake tribe where they bordered on the Lower Kutenai. Formerly the Okanagon had for their western neighbors the *Stuwī'ẓ* or *Stɛwī'ẓɛmux* (an Athapascan tribe). The international boundary line cut the territories of the Okanagon and Lake at points which divided the populations of these tribes in about halves. The territories of the Sanpoil and Colville were entirely in what is now eastern Washington. 101 131

DIVISIONS, BANDS, VILLAGES, PLACE-NAMES.—The Okanagon had at least two recognized divisions; under present conditions the Similkameen may be considered as a third division. 101 621

1. The Upper Okanagon or Lake[9] Okanagon, occupying the country around Okanagon Lake, Long Lake, and Dog Lake (or Lac du Chien). The Nicola Okanagon, with headquarters at Douglas Lake, belong to this division. At the present day whites often class the latter people as a separate division of the Okanagon, or still more frequently class them erroneously as part of the Nicola Indians (the *Tcawa'ẓamux* or Nicola division of the Thompson). 131

2. The Lower Okanagon, or River Okanagon, in the country along Okanagon River below the former division. These people were often called "Real Okanagon" by the Thompson and also by other Okana-

[8] A similar difference prevails between the eastern and western Shiswap. Like the Lake tribe, the former were largely a canoe people. They occupied a country very similar in climate and natural features, contiguous to the Lake tribe and just north of them.

[9] This division is called *Stī'ẓuɛmux* ("Lake people") by the Thompson; and they often call themselves, in distinction from other Okanagon, *Sālī'ẓuī*, Lake people.

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101 gon. It seems that the Okanagon below the Falls did not constitute
621 a separate division.

131 3. The Similkameen of Similkameen River. This is a modern division only very lately beginning to be recognized. For this reason, and also because of the growing ascendancy of the Okanagon language and blood in this part of the country, I have included the Similkameen among the Okanagon. The Thompson still claim the Similkameen valley down as far as between Hedley and Keremeous, and there is no doubt that the Thompson language has predominated throughout all the Upper Similkameen up to the present time, and Thompson blood is probably predominant there yet. However, the Similkameen country originally belonged to neither tribe. In olden days it was occupied by the *Stuwī'ɣ* or Nicola-Similkameen Athapascan tribe. When describing the Thompson Indians I have included in their territory the Nicola valley, which is dominantly under Thompson influence. The other part, nowadays under strong Okanagon influence, I include in the Okanagon territory.

101 At the present day the Okanagon of British Columbia include
621 seven bands, with as many chiefs. Of these bands, four belong to
361 the Okanagon and three to the Similkameen.

1. *Spā'ɣamən* or *Spā'ɣəmən*, or Douglas Lake band.	Headquarters at *Spā'ɣamən*[10] or Douglas Lake, on the Upper Nicola River.
2. *Nkama'pələks*, or Komaplix band.[11]	Headquarters *Nkama'pələks*, at the head of Okanagon Lake.
3. *Pəntī'ktən*, or Penticton band.	Headquarters at the foot of Okanagon Lake, near Penticton.
4. *Nkamī'p*, or Osoyoos band[12]	Headquarters *Nkamī'p*, on the east side of Okanagon River and head of Osoyoos Lake.
5. *Kerəmyē'us*, or Lower Similkameen band.	Having a number of small settlements between the boundary line and Keremeous. Probably the chief settlement formerly was near the latter place.
6. *Acnū'loɣ*, or Ashnola band	Headquarters near Ashnola, south side of the Similkameen.
7. *Snāsāi'st*, *Tcutcuwī'za*, or Upper Similkameen band.	Main settlement close to Hedley.

It seems that in the early half of the past century there were more bands. Some of these may have been subdivisions without chiefs. One of these divisions was farther up the Similkameen River, with headquarters around Graveyard Creek, Princeton, and the mouth of the Tulameen. It was called the *Zu'tsamən* ("red paint") band, from the name of a place called Vermilion or Vermilion Forks by the whites.[13] In the Okanagon Lake country there were probably at

[10] For explanations of place-names see under villages, No. 1, p. 206.
[11] Sometimes called "Head of the Lake band" and "Vernon band."
[12] Sometimes called "Fairview band."
[13] This band was called the Vermilion band by the traders. They were nearly all Thompson, and numbered at one time one hundred or more people. Some descendants are now living in the village *Nikaiɣxloɣ*.

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The following were old villages and camps along Slocan River and other places within British Columbia:

12. *Snkɛmi'p* ("base, root, or bottom," with reference to the head of the lake).	At upper end of Slocan Lake.
13. *Takɛlɛʒaitcɛkst* ("trout ascend"? [from *ai'tcɛkst*, a variety of large trout, probably lake trout]).	On Slocan Lake, below No. 12.
14. *Sihwi'lɛʒ*	On the lower part of Slocan Lake.
15. *Kā'ntcā'k*	On Slocan River, below the lake.
16. *Nkweio'ztɛn*	On Slocan River, below No. 15.
17. *Skɛtu'kɛlôʒ*	On Slocan River, below No. 16.
18. *Sntɛkɛli't.kⁿ*	Near the junction of Slocan and Kootenai Rivers. This was a noted salmon-fishing place. Salmon ran up the Slocan River, but could not ascend the Kootenai because of the great Bonnington Falls. Salmon were formerly plentiful throughout the Slocan district, and many people lived at all the villages.
19. *Kali'so*	On Trout Lake. Its waters drain into the north end of Kootenai Lake.
20. *Nɛmī'mɛltɛm*	On Caribou Lake, to the west of the narrows between the Arrow Lakes. The country around here was famous as a caribou-hunting ground.

Besides the above, there were a number of smaller villages or camps, all more or less permanent. It seems that there was an old village near the site of old Fort Shepherd, on the west side of the Columbia, a little north of the international line, and old burials are reported near here. Some informants, however, had no knowledge of a village having been here. I did not obtain a full list of the Lake villages in Washington. There appear to have been about eight main villages on the Columbia, all very populous. Three of the chief ones were—

21. *Ntsɛltsɛlē'tuk* [a]	At or very near Marcus, Columbia River.
22. *Stoe'ʒɛllkⁿ*	On the Columbia, below Northport.
23. *Ntsɛtsɛrri'sɛm*	At or very near Northport.

[131] The other villages were chiefly near Northport, Bossburg, and Marcus. The last-named place was considered the southern boundary of the tribe. There were also some people on the Lower Kettle River. The Lake also had important temporary camps within British Columbia at Christina Lake, *Kɛluwi'sst* (now Rossland), and *Tcɛaulɛʒʒi'xtsa* (now Trail), all west of the Columbia, and at *Kaia'mɛlɛp* (now Nelson) on Kootenai Lake. The Lake division claim that their eastern boundary was at a point on the lake some

[a] Compare Kutenai name for the Lake, p. 220.
Seven or eight miles east of Nelson.

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Blood Reserve in Alberta and all of the Blackfoot Reservation in Montana. Northward Kutenai territory extended on the east side of the Rockies to a distance about equal to the northern limits of the former hunting grounds of the Upper Kutenai, west of the range or possibly even a little farther north; but it is not clear whether this northeastern strip of country belonged to the Upper Kutenai or to the Kutenai-*Tunā'xa*. Presumably it belonged to the former. It included the country around Banff and probably all the present reservation of the Stony or Assiniboin Indians on the Bow River.[31] On the south their boundaries coincided with the northern limits of the Sun River Salish (the tribe called *Tunā'ɣe* by my principal Flathead informant). This eastern or Plains Kutenai tribe was composed of several bands, most of whom made their headquarters in the eastern foothills of the Rockies, on both sides of the international boundary; but a large band lived at one time on the present Blood Reservation. The main seat of the tribe was near the place now called Browning, in Montana. To prevent confusion I have named this tribe Kutenai-*Tunā'ɣe*, and the *Tunā'ɣe* of Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles informants, Salish-*Tunā'ɣe*. The latter had for neighbors Kutenai-*Tunā'ɣe* on the north, the *Sɛmtē'use* on the west, Flathead on the south, and Shoshoni neighbors on the east. It seems that the Kutenai-*Tunā'ɣe* had Shoshoni on part of their boundary to the southeast, Blackfoot (probably Piegan) on the east and north, Upper Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles on the west, and Salish-*Tunā'ɣe* on the south. It is claimed that at this time there were no Sarsi or Assiniboin in that part of the country.[32]

The Sɛmtē'use or Sɛmtā'use.—The territory of the *Sɛmtē'use* lay immediately west of the Rocky Mountains, in what is now Powell County, and in parts of Lewis and Clark, Missoula, and Granite Counties. Their southern boundary seems to have run in a line from Garrison or Deerlodge to Missoula, and their western boundary northeasterly to a point in the Rockies in the neighborhood of the northern end of Powell County, their territory thus forming a wedge to the north. The former ownership of the triangular piece of country forming the southern part of Granite County, with Phillipsburg as a center, is uncertain, but it probably belonged to the *Sɛmtē'use*. Some claim it to have been occupied by Flathead. In later times it was occupied chiefly by them. The *Sɛmtē'use* were

[31] According to tradition, the Stony (or Assiniboin) were not in the Rocky Mountains long ago; they were east of the Kutenai-*Tunā'ɣe* and Blackfoot. Later some of them appeared in the Bow River region, around Banff and Morley. At a still later date Shuswap also appeared in this region. They were allies of the Stony. It seems that the Assiniboin came in along the eastern slopes of the Rockies from the northeast or north.

[32] The Sarsi, it seems, were not known until comparatively late times. Their home is supposed to have been to the north of the Blackfoot, while the original home of the Assiniboin is considered to have been somewhere to the east of the Blackfoot. The Gros Ventres (or Atsina) were also to the east or southeast of the latter.

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101 thus entirely surrounded by Salish tribes—the Salish-*Tunā'ɣe* on the
131 east, the Flathead on the south, and the Pend d'Oreilles on the west.

The Pend d'Oreilles.—The Pend d'Oreilles occupied all the Flathead Lake and Flathead River country, the Little Bitterroot, the Pend d'Oreille River west to about Plains, the Fork and Missoula Rivers to about Missoula. Northward they extended to about the British Columbia line. The original owners of that part of Flathead River that is in British Columbia is uncertain, as some informants of both the Pend d'Oreilles and Upper Kutenai claim it as hunting territory of their respective tribes. In later days it seems to have been used principally by the Upper Kutenai. The Lewis and Clark National Forest and the Flathead Indian Reserve are both in old Pend d'Oreilles territory. To the south they extended as far as the *Sɛmtē'use* (near Missoula). Thus they occupied the greater part of Flathead and Missoula Counties. According to some informants, all of Ravalli County was also claimed by the Pend d'Oreilles, although the Flathead occupied it a long time ago. It seems not unlikely that the Pend d'Oreilles of this part of the country, the *Sɛmtē'use* of Granite County, and the nearest Flathead bands were closely related and the boundaries between them not very well defined. Pend d'Oreilles territory narrowed down in the extreme north and south, and was partly bounded by the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Bitterroot Mountains on the west. The tribe had for neighbors the *Sɛmtē'use*, Salish-*Tunā'ɣe*, and Kutenai-*Tunā'ɣe* along the east; Upper Kutenai on the north; Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé, along the west; and Shoshoni and Flathead, south. After the extinction of the Salish-*Tunā'ɣe* the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, as their nearest relatives, laid claim to their country, and used it as their hunting ground. The Pend d'Oreilles used chiefly the northern part and the Flathead the southern; the approximate dividing line seems to have been across Sun River. Later, after the extinction of the *Sɛmtē'use*, the Pend d'Oreilles, claiming to be the tribe most closely related to them, occupied their country for hunting and root digging, including their large camas grounds near Missoula. The latter, however, were also used to some extent by the Flathead.

The Kalispel.—The Kalispel occupied a rather narrow strip of country following Pend d'Oreille River, up to Plains and thence north, taking in Thompson Lake and Norse Plains. They divided the Kutenai from the Coeur d'Alêne. This included most of Sanders County, Montana; the country around Pend d'Oreille Lake and Priests Lake in Idaho; and nearly all of Pend d'Oreille River within the State of Washington. A small corner of their hunting country extended into the Salmon River district in British Columbia. A division speaking a slightly different dialect also occupied the Chewelah district on the confines of the Colville tribe. The Kalispel were thus bounded by

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Lower Kutenai on the north, Colville and Lake on the west, Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne on the south, and the Pend d'Oreilles on the east.

The Spokan.—The Spokan occupied that part of eastern Washington immediately south of the Kalispel and west of the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems that the bulk of the tribe was on the Spokane and Little Spokane Rivers. South they claimed the country to Cow Creek, and, according to some, along this creek almost or quite to Palouse River. North their country embraced the present Spokan Reservation, Loon Lake, Deer Park Lake, Peone Prairie, and all the northern feeders of the Spokane. Their western boundary seems to have been approximately a line running about due south from the mouth of Spokane River and passing through Ritzville. The Spokan hardly touched Columbia River at any point. They had for neighbors the Coeur d'Alêne on the east, the Kalispel and Colville on the north, the Sanpoil and Columbia on the west, and the Paloos on the south.[25]

Physical Characteristics of the Country.—The country formerly inhabited by the Spokan is arid in the lower valleys, but at higher levels very much of it consists of rolling, grass-covered plateaus and prairies with comparatively little timber. Much of the northern part of the Pend d'Oreilles country and most of the Kalispel country are more or less heavily forested. A great deal of it is hilly or mountainous, but there are also many flat open parts and meadows with luxuriant grass. Altogether the territories of the Flathead group of tribes were exceedingly diversified in natural features, rich in food supplies, and had good climatic conditions.

Divisions, Bands, and Headquarters. *The Flathead.*—It seems now impossible to get a full list of the bands of the Flathead tribe previous to their change of organization brought about by the introduction of the horse and subsequent prolonged wars with the Blackfoot. It appears that there were at least four distinct bands having their main winter camps in the western parts of the country. Of these, it seems that one was on a river near Helena, one near Butte, another smaller one somewhere east of Butte, and one somewhere in the Big Hole Valley. The Big Hole and Helena bands are said to have been large. There are traditions of two other bands, making probably six in all, but I did not learn the localities in which they had their headquarters. It seems that some of the bands did not always winter in the same locality, while others did. It is said that some parties wintered alternately at widely separate places in the eastern part of the country. The inference is that some were nomadic to a large extent, while others, probably the majority, generally wintered in definite "home" localities. In the fair season it seems that most

[25] If the Paloos are newcomers then they may have had the Nez Percé as southern neighbors; but the main settlements of the two tribes were far apart.

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Blackfoot or South Piegan Reserve), and this place was considered their headquarters. Here their old camp sites may be found, although now covered with earth. When the earth is dug away the tent circles may be seen, and the fireplaces. According to John Star, numbers of these circles of stones have been unearthed in this vicinity. Chief Paul told me that when a young man he had seen the remains of a great *Tuna'ɣe* camp in the country south of Macleod in the foothills, the circles of stones for their tipis being traceable for a distance of about 5 miles. The *Kakwagɛmɛtú'kɛnik!* lived just north of them. They spoke the same dialect as the Upper Kutenai of Tobacco Plains and Fort Steele(?). They are said to have had their headquarters in the heart of the Rockies in the Crow's Nest Pass near Michel, British Columbia, and to have hunted on both sides of the divide. They are reported to have been killed off by an epidemic and the few survivors scattered. A very few of them settled among other bands of Kutenai as far north as Windermere. As the country around Macleod and south some distance is exposed to violent winds, stones would naturally be requisite for placing against the lodge poles to help steady the lodges.

The Sɛmtɛ'use.—The *Sɛmtɛ'use* also were in several bands, wintering at different places. Before the introduction of the horse the largest band was on Big Blackfoot River, which was considered the headquarters of the tribe. Some people lived on the Little Blackfoot and Salmon-Trout Rivers, but it is not clear whether they formed separate bands. One or two bands occupied the Missoula River country. It seems that one of these had headquarters near a place called *Skalsa'*[37] or *Eplɛ'thwa*[38] ("possessing camas"), later known as "Big Camas" or "Camas Prairie," between the Missoula and Big Blackfoot. Some think that a smaller band had headquarters near Deer Lodge and maybe Phillipsburg, but some informants assign this place to the Flathead. Anaconda is reckoned to be in old Flathead territory. In later days the tribe became more concentrated, and their main camp seems to have been near Camas Prairie.

The Pend d'Oreilles.—It seems that the earliest recognized main seat of the Pend d'Oreilles was at Flathead Lake. According to some informants, there were four main divisions of the tribe,[39] with headquarters in different parts of the country. Of these, probably the Flathead Lake people were the most important. They appear to have had several winter camps in the vicinity of the lake. Whether each camp or village was considered a separate band is not clear. It appears that some people lived north of the lake, with their main

[37] Said to be the *Sɛmtɛ'use* name. The name may be connected with camas.
[38] Said to be the Flathead name.
[39] Some say that each tribe of the Flathead group was divided into four bands or divisions, but this seems an attempt at more or less conscious systematization.

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361 camp near Kalispel, and possibly a smaller one near Columbia Falls.
619 Other people lived west of the lake, with headquarters probably at
or near Dayton, and there were others near Polson at the foot of the
• 131 lake. There were also winter camps lower down, near Jocko, Dixon,
Ravalli, and at other places. A number of Pend d'Oreilles lived near
Camas Prairie and at other places on the Missoula; but this may
have been after the extinction of the *Sɛmtē'use*, as this place was
considered to be on the territory of the latter. It seems that Pend
d'Oreilles sometimes also wintered on the Bitterroot. A large
band wintered at *Snye'lɛmɛn*[40] or *Snia'lɛmɛn*, near the present St.
Ignatius Mission. Some time after the introduction of the horse
this place became the main seat of the tribe, and Flathead Lake lost
361 its importance. The same conditions which forced the Flathead to
619 concentrate affected the Pend d'Oreilles also, but perhaps to not
quite the same extent. It is said that about 1810 to 1830 nearly
178 the whole tribe wintered in a single large camp at St. Ignatius Mission,
in the same way as the Flathead did at Stevensville. There are some
619 indications that the Pend d'Oreilles at one time may have been in
two divisions, a northern and a southern, each comprising a number
of bands.

361 *The Kalispel.*—The Kalispel, it seems, were at one time in three
619 divisions: (1) The Upper Kalispel, sometimes called *Ntsɛmtsī'ni*
131 ("people of the confluence," from *ntsɛmtsīn*, "entrance, outlet, or
confluence," a place at the outlet of Pend Oreille Lake, where a
considerable band of them formerly wintered). (2) The Lower
Kalispel, often called "the Kalispel" or "real Kalispel," and sometimes "camas people" and "*Kalispe'm.*" They are said to have been so called because they occupied the Kalispel country proper, the district around *Kalispe'lɛm* or *Kalispe'm*, the name of the large camas prairie west of the Pend Oreille River, near Calispell Lake, Washington. (3) The Chewelah, generally called *Slātē'use*, and sometimes *Tsentī's*. In later days they were often called Chewelah by whites and Indians (from *Tcewi'la* or *Tcuwī'la*, the name of one of their principal winter camps near Chewelah, Wash.). Some people considered these people a tribe different from the Kalispel, as they spoke a slightly different dialect and lived by themselves. However, they recognized their very close relationship to the Kalispel. I did not succeed in getting a full list of Kalispel bands, but it seems that there were several in each division. There were probably at least two bands of the Chewelah, as some people speak of their having had two winter camps. In fair weather some of them camped near Newport and Fool's Prairie, where they often remained many weeks. They also repaired regularly to Calispell Lake, where they dug camas with the Lower Kalispel. They occupied the country west of

[40] Said to mean "encircled" or "surrounded," some say because of groves of bushes and trees forming a circle, and by others because elk used to be surrounded at this place.

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the Calispell or Chewelah Mountains in the upper part of the Colville Valley. The Lower Kalispel country was also nearly all in the State of Washington, where they occupied the Lower Pend Oreille River from about Newport down. This division is said to have had their headquarters on the east side of the Pend Oreille River, near Usk and Cusiek, at a little creek called *Tsu'kol* (said to be from the name of the little water ouzel or dipper, because these birds were plentiful at this place). There were other winter camps on the river, most of them on the east side, and all within a radius of about 9 miles of this place. The present-day Lower Kalispel, consisting of Chief Marcellin's band, still live in this neighborhood. They refused to go on the Colville and other reserves, and lately had a strip of land reserved for them here. It appears that a small band formerly wintered at *Stlkamtsī'n* ("confluence"), near the mouth of the Calispell River. Another old camp or village was at *Nyē'yot*, now called Indian Creek, on the east side of the river, about nine miles below Newport, where there is an island in the river. According to some, the main camp of the Lower Kalispel long ago was at a place on Pend Oreille River called *Stseī'a*, in the district where Chief Marcellin's band still live. The Upper Kalispel occupied all the tribal territory now within Idaho and Montana. Besides the band that formerly wintered at the outlet of Pend Oreille Lake, a band had headquarters at *Shwe'wi'* ("portage"), on the east bank of the river, at Albany Falls, and another at *Qapqape'* ("sand"), near Sand Point; and there are said to have been smaller bands at other places. In later times a band called "Camas Prairie" Kalispel, numbering about fifteen lodges, had their headquarters near the confines of the Pend d'Oreilles. A few descendants of this band are now on the Flathead Reserve. In later years the Pend Oreille Lake band often shifted their winter camps to various places within their territory, and occasionally many of them wintered with the Lower Kalispel. It is uncertain whether any band had regular headquarters at Newport, but people occasionally wintered there.

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The Spokan.—The Spokan were in three main groups:[41] (1) The Lower Spokan, occupying the mouth and lower part of Spokane River, including the present Spokan Indian Reserve. (2) The Upper Spokan, or Little Spokan, occupying the Little Spokane River and all the country east of the Lower Spokan to within the borders of Idaho. Part of their territory formed a wedge between the Coeur d'Alêne and Kalispel. The plateau country south of Spokane River, around Davenport and toward Palouse, was used as a summering and hunting ground by both these divisions, and it seems there was no distinct line here between them. (3) The South or Middle

[41] For the Indian names of these divisions, see p. 298.

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Spokan occupied the whole Hangmans Creek country, extending south along the borders of the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems that they did not go west of Cheney. There were several bands of these divisions but I did not obtain their names and locations. A band called *Sntsuwé'stsɛnɛ* lived at the head of the Little Spokane River.

POPULATION.—Informants agree that a long time ago the people of all the Flathead tribes were very numerous, but it is impossible to obtain any definite estimate of what the population was in early times. The oldest estimates I obtained were based on the number of lodges in winter camps about 1850. Most of these vary so much that they are of little value. This may be due partly to the fact that the number of people dwelling at certain points varied in different winters. Thus the number of lodges of the Kalispel in the winter camp or village at the outlet of Pend d'Oreille Lake is stated to have been not over 8 some winters, and in other winters as many as 15, while occasionally there were only 2 or 3, or even none at all. Likewise, at a place on Spokane River there were often 6 lodges, but some winters there were as many as 12, and occasionally 1 or 2 or none at all. At a time before horses were in general use the number of lodges to the winter camp probably did not fluctuate so much, so that many places had nearly the same number of inhabitants every winter, thus corresponding to conditions found formerly among the Coeur d'Alêne and other tribes. Of the Spokan, the upper division is said to have been the most numerous. The Lower Spokan were not so many; while the Middle Spokan were always a small body, numbering only a few hundred. A story is told relating the reason for their small numbers.[42] The whole Spokan tribe is said to have numbered more people than the Coeur d'Alêne, immediately prior to the advent of the fur traders; the Kalispel about the same as the Spokan; and the Pend d'Oreilles more than either. The Flathead numbered less than the Pend d'Oreilles, but it is said that they were much reduced by wars. Some say that tradition relates they were at one time the most populous and important tribe of the Flathead group, being considered the head tribe of the group. The *Sɛmtê'use* and the Salish-*Tund'ze* were said to be less in numbers than the Pend d'Oreilles. It thus seems possible that the total population of the Flathead tribes some time after the introduction of the horse, or before the beginning of the wars with the Blackfoot, may have been in the neighborhood of 15,000.[43] The Lewis and Clark estimates[44] around 1805–06, of 600 for the Spokan, 1,600 for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and 600 for the Flat-

[42] Folk-Tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes. Memoirs American Folk-lore Society, vol. XI, p. 122.

[43] Ross stated that about 1880, and perhaps later, the traders estimated the Spokan, Kalispel, and Pend d'Oreilles each to have numbered about 1,000. The Flathead were considered to have numbered a little less, making perhaps a total of about 3,500 to 3,800 for the four tribes. The Kutenai on both sides of the line were thought to number less than 2,000; and the Nez Percé, from 3,000 to 3,500.

[44] See Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn.